

great respect that we had an agreement last evening about morning business. Without consultation, we have a unanimous-consent propounded and agreed to because no one on our side was on the floor. If you wish to propound a further unanimous-consent request, I will object unless we restore the agreement that was obtained last evening of 45 minutes on each side. You are certainly welcome to 5 minutes toward the end, provided you accord the same opportunity to us. If you choose not to do that, I would be constrained to object.

Mrs. HUTCHISON. In an effort to give the Senator everything I think he has asked for, not to be quibbling, the only reason that I would give up what I have by unanimous consent is because the Senator from Idaho has been waiting, and in order to give him 3 minutes I am going to give you whatever you want. So I will say that I will ask unanimous consent that the 3 minutes of the 5 minutes that I have left be given to the Senator from Idaho, and that then I will have 2 additional minutes for my 45 minutes, and then the Senator from North Dakota will control 45 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. DEWINE). Is there objection?

Without objection, it is so ordered. The Senator from Idaho is recognized.

Mr. KEMPTHORNE. Mr. President, I thank the Chair. These are precious 3 minutes. I will make the best use of them.

For the 11th year in a row, we have cut the defense of this Nation—11 years. Last year, the administration assured the Senate Armed Services Committee that this year there would be no further cuts and that we would see the adding of funds for procurement so that we could buy the ships and the tanks and the trucks our men and women in the military so critically need.

As passed, the current budget for the Department of Defense, the budget that is now in question and we are talking about this morning, does not even keep up with inflation. What is in it? Things that are so straightforward, such as a 3-percent pay increase for men and women in the military, a very real issue, and all of the equipment that they need.

Later today, the Senate Armed Services Committee will hold a hearing on General Downing's report on the terrorist bombing of Khobar Towers in Saudi Arabia. Nineteen Americans lost their lives in that bombing.

Yesterday, the President announced he was sending an additional 5,000 American soldiers to Kuwait to keep Saddam Hussein in Iraq. In Bosnia the elections have taken place. Now the administration is considering keeping the American soldiers in Bosnia after the 1-year deployment we were told would do the job. These so-called peacekeeping missions have shown us repeatedly that the world remains a very dangerous place for Americans and cer-

tainly for the men and women in uniform. We must make the hard decisions and spend what is required to protect our Nation's vital interests.

If the President wants to once again reduce funding for defense, I would ask him, which requirements does he propose to cut? Which requirements does he propose to cut? Is the President ready to remove our troops from Bosnia? If so, declare it. Is the President ready to end our enforcement of the no-fly zone over Iraq? If so, declare it. Is the President willing to now say there is no need to send the troops to Kuwait? If so, declare it. What do the cuts do to the responsibilities he is giving to our troops? We continually ask our troops to do more and more and we ask them to do it with less and less. That is wrong. That is not what a Commander in Chief should be asking of those troops that are under that Commander in Chief's command.

Last night, we had the celebration of the 180th anniversary of the Senate Armed Services Committee. We acknowledged the leaders that have been in that position. We acknowledged Senator STROM THURMOND and Senator SAM NUNN, who I believe are together on this issue. There was an interesting quote that was pointed out to us last night by President Calvin Coolidge who said:

The Nation which forgets its defenders will be itself forgotten.

I think that says it all. Let us not forget our defenders. Let us not forget the men and women in uniform that we repeatedly ask to put their lives on the line.

No more cuts, Mr. President. No more cuts.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from North Dakota is recognized for 45 minutes under the previous order.

Mrs. HUTCHISON. Mr. President, I think the previous order was that I had the last 2 minutes after Senator KEMPTHORNE's 3 minutes and then the Senator from North Dakota would have 45 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. If the Senator wishes to take the time now, that is fine, if there is no objection.

Mrs. HUTCHISON. That was the agreement. I thank the Chair.

I think the Senator from Idaho said it all. If you are going to cut the defense budget at the same time that you continue to ask our military to do more with less, tell us where you want to cut.

The President of the United States is now threatening to veto the Defense appropriations bill if we do not cut \$2- to \$3 billion out of it. As 3,500 troops are on their way to Kuwait to defend the interests of this country, the President is threatening to veto the Defense appropriations bill. How could he do it? With troops going into Haiti, with troops in Bosnia, overruns there right now, and more troops on the way to a hot spot in the Middle East, and he is

telling Congress cut \$2- to \$3 billion out of the defense budget.

Mr. President, where do you want to cut? Are you going to cut F-16's, as you send 23 more to Kuwait and Saudi Arabia? Or are you going to cut the cruise missiles that you did not put in the budget in the first place which have already been used in your operation over Iraq? Is that what you want to cut? Or do you want to cut the Humvees with the added armor that has already saved one life in Bosnia when a landmine was run over by a Humvee but the protection was there and an American life was saved? Is that what you want to cut?

Those are the things in our budget that the President did not ask for and would be asking us to take out. Mr. President, step up to the line. If you are going to cut the defense budget, you tell us where you want to cut. It is very clear we are going to need Stealth bombers. We have already used them. Are we going to start cutting Stealth bombers as we are sending them into harm's way?

Mr. President, step up to the line. Tell us where you want to cut. Let us be responsible. Let us fund our men and women who are defending the interests of this country.

I thank the Chair. I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous unanimous consent agreement, the Senator from North Dakota is recognized for 45 minutes.

Mr. DORGAN. Mr. President, I shall not use the entire 45 minutes. Senator FEINSTEIN from California is here. I believe Senator BIDEN wishes to speak. I do want to call a couple of items to the attention of my colleagues and I do want to respond some to the comments that have been made this morning in the previous 45 minutes.

THE FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD

Mr. DORGAN. Mr. President, I wish to make a couple of comments, first, about the Federal Reserve Board and a piece in this morning's newspaper about the Federal Reserve Board and, second, about the issue of confirming U.S. judges. First, the Federal Reserve Board.

Page 1 references the story on page 2 about the Federal Reserve Board. Next Tuesday, the Federal Reserve Board is going to meet in secret and make a decision about whether or not it wants to increase interest rates in our country. Apparently 8 of the 12 regional Federal Reserve Bank boards have made a recommendation to the Federal Reserve Board that they ought to increase interest rates and somehow that was leaked to the press. "Newspaper Story's Apparent Leak of Advice on Rates Shocks the Fed. Regional Banks' Opinions Are a Tightly Held Secret."

Why is this interesting? Because next Tuesday the Fed will make a decision that will affect every single American. If they increase interest rates, they will tax every single American with

higher interest rate charges on their indebtedness. Will there be a debate about it? No. Will it be public? Will it be a democratic system? No. It will be done in secret, just as everything else is done in secret. That is why this story talks about the FBI being called out in other circumstances to find out who leaked information about what is happening at the Fed.

Why ought it be a crime to leak information? The American people ought to have information about what is happening in monetary policy. We ought to disinfect the Federal Reserve Board by opening the doors and providing some sunlight into their process, so the American people can become, at least in some minor way, a part of the process in determining whether this country ought to have higher interest rates.

I simply want to point out how incredible this story is, written by John Berry. John Berry always writes stories from the institutional side of the Fed. I do not know, if he stepped back, six or eight paces away, he would see the absurdity of this institution which is now a dinosaur, the last remaining dinosaur in Washington operating in secret behind closed doors with those who are coming from around the country, hired by their boards of directors in the regional Fed banks—the boards of directors are local bankers—coming to Washington, DC, to make public decisions about interest rate policy that all Americans will be confronting.

This obviously commends a much longer discussion than this. But next Tuesday the Federal Reserve Board, if it is thinking straight, will decide to just say no to higher interest rates.

Inflation is down one-tenth of 1 percent, announced last week. You can almost find no inflation in this economy. It is down 5 years in a row. Unemployment is down to 5.1 percent. The models that the Federal Reserve Board use simply are not working. They have always felt you cannot have lower unemployment because lower unemployment would mean higher inflation. Now they are scratching their heads, wondering how is this happening? How is it that unemployment has come down to 5.1 percent and there is no new inflation?

If the Fed would open its doors and send some of its folks around the country to talk to real people, they will find wage earners know what the Fed has not known for the last two decades. Wage earners know wages have not been going up, they have been going down. The pressure to create more inflation from higher wages is not happening in this global economy. The global economy and circumstances of our participation in it are pushing wages down, not up. It is time the Fed changes its models or goes out and talks to real American people about this and maybe they would come to the right conclusion next Tuesday.

FEDERAL JUDGES

Mr. DORGAN. One point about Federal judges. We are nearing the end of

this congressional session. Some of us believe this Congress ought not adjourn until the majority party does for us what we did for them—yes, even in election years—and that is clear off the calendar and clear through the committee, judges, Federal judges that have been appointed by this President. The fact is, the record is not good. We have seen stutter-stepping and stalling. Some of us are going to decide, one of these days, nothing more is going to happen in this Senate until those many judges out there waiting for confirmation by this Senate are brought before this Senate for a vote.

DEFENSE POLICY AND DEFENSE SPENDING

Mr. DORGAN. Now, having said that, and there will be more discussion about that in future days, I want to turn just for a moment to the discussion we have seen on the floor of the Senate now for 45 minutes this morning.

Senators have every right to come to this floor and talk about defense policy, and the Senators who came are Senators for whom I have great respect. But I have real disagreement with those who would leverage the issue of American troops going in harm's way to the Persian Gulf this morning, leaving their loved ones because the Commander in Chief and our military people feel it is necessary to send them to the Persian Gulf. I have real concern about those who would leverage that with criticism of the President for his defense budget proposals just weeks before an election, in an obvious attempt to try to find a way to undermine President Clinton on this Senate floor. But it not only tries to pull the rug out from under President Clinton, I think it sends all the wrong signals at this moment as this country prepares to confront foreign policy initiatives that are serious.

The discussion on the floor is, "President Clinton wants to cut defense spending." Let us look at the record just for a moment. Oh, the President has cut some in defense. I will give you an example of what he cut, he and Vice President GORE. There was a 16-page regulation on how to buy cream-filled cookies at the Pentagon. They cut that. It does not take 16 pages of regulations anymore to buy cream-filled cookies because this administration said that does not make any sense. That is nuts. Let us streamline all that.

They tried to buy \$25,000 worth of ant bait to kill ants. It took them months and dozens and dozens of pages of regulations and forms. They cut that.

So, has the President wanted to cut some in defense? Yes—unnecessary regulations, unnecessary bureaucracy. It is about time. We ought to commend them for that, not criticize them.

Now, on the question of spending, what was sent to this Congress from the Defense Department? A budget. The cold war is over. The Soviet Union

does not exist. And from the height of the cold war we are now spending less than we were spending then. Does anyone in this country think that we ought to spend now as much on military preparedness and defense as we did at the very height of the cold war? Does anyone believe that? Of course not. We are not at the height of the cold war. Things have changed. Defense spending has come down some—not a great deal, but some. So what is the debate?

The debate is this. The Pentagon prepares a budget. The uniformed personnel, the service Secretaries going through the White House, they prepare a budget, send it to the Congress, and they say: Here is what we think, as an Army, Navy, a group of Marines, and the Air Force, here is what we think is necessary to defend America. Here is what we think we must build, what we must spend. Here is what we think we must accomplish to defend America.

That budget came to this Congress, giving us the best recommendations of those who wear our uniform in this country, the generals and the admirals, the service Secretaries, saying here is what we want to defend America. But when it got here it was not enough. We had folks in this Chamber saying, "You know, we think you are dead wrong. It is true we are the folks who stand up and boast every morning about how much we want to cut Federal spending, but we think you are wrong. We think, Mr. and Mrs. Pentagon, over there in that big building, we think you ought to spend \$13 billion more. We think you ought to buy more trucks, more ships, more planes, more submarines. We think you ought to spend more money because we think you are wrong."

Everybody has a right to his or her opinion on what it takes to defend this country. Everybody has a right to stand up and talk about that. I do not deny that. But I would like to talk about a couple of the specifics, because I think in many respects this has a whole lot more to do with politics than it has to do with policy. It has a whole lot more to do with elections than it has to do with the defense of this country. I want to run through just a couple of charts, because I think it is instructive on this issue.

One of the big items we have been debating is the issue of star wars. I know they do not like to call it that, but star wars. There is a proposal called the Defend America Act. Who on Earth can be opposed to defending America? The Defend America Act is to build an astrodome over America, an astrodome effect that would prevent missiles from coming in and hitting our country. We have already spent somewhere around \$99 billion on research and development on missiles. We have built one ABM site—incidentally, we built it in my State. It was declared mothballed the very month it was declared operational, after the equivalent of today's \$25 billion was spent on it. But we have people saying that it does not matter what the cost is, we need to build this.